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FM THE SITUATION ROOM/ATOSCO 100//

TO: GENERAL SCORCROFT

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TOSCO 100

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCORCROFT

FROM: THE SITUATION ROOM
SUBJECT: MORNING NEWS SUMMARY

WASHINGTON POST

U.S. SECRETARY KISSINGER IS QUOTED AS SAYING THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE THE LEFTIST FRETILEN MOVEMENT WHICH UNILATERALLY DECLARED THE INDEPENDENCE OF PORTUGUESE EAST TIMOR LAST WEEK. (A-17)

ACCORDING TO NEWS DISPATCHES FROM PARIS, NORTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR VO VAN SUNG ANNOUNCED THAT THE BODIES OF THREE AMERICAN PILOTS KILLED IN THE VIETNAM WAR WOULD BE TURNED OVER TO THEIR FAMILIES IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. (A-18)

PETER GOSHUA REPORTS THAT MOSCOM IS NOW MORE CONCERNED ABOUT OTHER PROBLEMS AT HOME AND ABROAD THAN THE PROSPECTS FOR CHINESE-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE ESSENTIALLY STALLED WHILE THE INEVITABLE TRANSITION TO NEW TOP LEADERSHIP IN PEKING IS TAKING PLACE AND SO LONG AS THE FORD ADMINISTRATION MAINTAINS ITS DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH TAIWAN, SO WHY MAKE A FUSS? (A-19)

LOU GANNON REPORTS THAT THERE WAS A SERIOUS PURPOSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, A PURPOSE RELATED TO THE INDEPENDENCE ASSERTED BY ASIAN NATIONS IN THE NAME OF THE VIETNAM WAR, EVEN DURING AN EFFUSIVE TRIBUTE TO MR. FORD, PHILLIPPINE PRESIDENT FERDINAND MARCOS ALMOST BLUNTLY SUGGESTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND FOR CONTROL OF US BASES IN THE PHILLIPINES.

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WHAT MARCOS WANTS, AS HE REPORTEDLY MADE CLEAR TO MR. FORD IN TWO PRIVATE TALKS, IS JURISDICTION OVER TWO US BASES HERE: SUBIC BAY NAVAL BASE, IMPORTANT TO THE US 7TH FLEET, AND CLARK AIR FORCE BASE, IN PAMPANGA, HEADQUARTERS OF THE US 13TH AIR FORCE.

IN ADDITION, MARCOS STATED DURING AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS AT A BANQUET FOR MR. FORD LAST NIGHT THAT ANY NEW AGREEMENTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE BASES MUST INCLUDE PROVISIONS FOR THE IMMEDIATE UPGRADING OF THE PHILLIPPINES' OWN ARMED FORCES SO THAT "FUTURE... MILITARY AID TO OUR PEOPLE" WILL BE UNNECESSARY. (A-1)

MURRAY HARDER WRITES THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HEADS INTO A POTENTIAL "POLITICAL SHOOTOUT" ON HIS RETURN FROM ASIA MONDAY AND HIS SUPPORTERS ARE MORE WORRIED ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF A HOUSE VOTE TO CITE HIM FOR CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS THAN ABOUT DEFEATING THE MOVE, FOR KISSINGER IS ABOUT TO ENTER ANOTHER ROUND OF NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WITH THE QUESTION OF HIS CANDOR WITH CONGRESS IN THE BACKGROUND.

THERE IS NO OVERT CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CONTEMPT CHARGE AND CRITICISM AIRED LAST WEEK ABOUT ALLEGED SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF PREVIOUS NUCLEAR ACCORDS NEGOTIATED BY KISSINGER. TO KISSINGER'S ASSOCIATES, HOWEVER, THE OBJECTIVE IS THE SAME: TO "SINK" KISSINGER.

INTENSIVE LOBBYING IS BEING CONDUCTED BY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION TO AVOID A VOTE ON THE CONTEMPT CHARGE, PRESSED BY HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN OTIS G. PIKE. PIKE SAID HE INTENDS TO FILE A REPORT TO THE HOUSE ON THE CHARGE MONDAY.

"WE ARE ALWAYS TOLD THAT IT IS UNFAIR TO DO IT [CALL FOR A VOTE AGAINST KISSINGER] WHILE THE SECRETARY IS OUT OF THE COUNTRY," SAID PIKE, "AND IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO DO THIS," HE SAID, "WHEN THE SECRETARY IS IN THE COUNTRY." (A-1)

JONATHAN C. RANDAL WRITES THAT MORE THAN 60 LEBANESE WERE REPORTED KILLED AND TWO SOVIET DIPLOMATS WOUNDED, ONE SERIOUSLY, IN ONE OF THE WORST DAYS OF VIOLENCE SINCE THE CIVIL WAR BEGAN IN APRIL. RADIO BEIRUT DECLARED ALL CITY ROADS UNSAFE AND ADVISED RESIDENTS TO STAY INDOORS AS FEARS MOUNTED THAT YET ANOTHER OF BEIRUT'S MANY BEAR-FIRES WAS IN THE PROCESSING OF DISSOLVING. (A-1)

VLADIMIR ZORZA REPORTS THAT THE KREMLIN AGENDA FOR THE NEXT PARTY CONGRESS CERTAINLY SHOWS THAT BREZHNEV IS DETERMINED TO STAY IN POWER, BUT HIS WISH TO DO SO HAS NEVER IN DOUBT. BREZHNEV'S ILLNESS HAS CAUSED SOME OF HIS POTENTIAL RIVALS TO CHALLENGE BOTH HIS POWER POSITION AND HIS POLICIES, AND HE HAS BEEN BERTHETING THEIR PRESSURE. THE QUESTION IS

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NOW SUCCESSFUL HIS RESISTANCE HAS BEEN, AND HOW LONG IT CAN LAST.

THE MAIN LESSON OF THE PAST YEAR IS THAT THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES AND THAT HIS POSITION IS GROWING PROGRESSIVELY WEAKER, EVEN THOUGH THE SURFACE INDICATIONS MAY SUGGEST THE CONTRARY.

(B-7)

ALLAN BARTH WRITES THAT THE FBI IS NOT GOING TO BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL BY ANY CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE-- WHICH WILL BE TOLD NO MORE THAN THE FBI WANTS IT TO KNOW. IT CAN BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL ONLY BY FIRST BEING CUT DOWN TO SIZE--BY HAVING ITS ROLE FIRMLY DEFINED BY CONGRESS, SO THAT IT BECOMES WHAT IS WAS MEANT TO BE IN THE FIRST PLACE, A LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY CONCERNED, AS HARLAN STONE PUT IT, "ONLY WITH SUCH CONDUCT AS IS FORBIDDEN BY THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES."

(B-7)

DAVID BRODER SATIRICALLY QUESTIONS THE CREDENTIALS AND CREDIBILITY OF THE 14 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS.

(B-7)

WALTER SCOTT WRITES THAT THE CIA'S INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE COMPILED A SECRET REPORT ON THE CIA'S ALLEGED ILLEGALITIES. THAT ULTRASECRET REPORT IN TIME WAS REFERRED TO AS "THE FAMILY JEWELS." ON JULY 12, 1973, JAMES SCHLESINGER WAS SWORN IN AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, LEAVING HIS SUCCESSOR, POOR BILL COLBY, HOLDING THE BAG OF "FAMILY JEWELS". BEFORE GERALD FORD FIRED HIM, COLBY SPENT DAYS TRYING TO EXPLAIN THE CIA BYNS SCHLESINGER HAD UNCOVERED. (PARADE MAGAZINE)

WASHINGTON STAR

JEREMIAH O'LEARY REPORTS THAT A CUBAN ARMY LIEUTENANT CAPTURED BY THE ANTI-RUSSIAN UNITA FORCES IN ANGOLA HAS ADMITTED THAT THE CUBAN FORCE IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONY HAS NOW RISEN TO 5,000 MEN.

U.S. SOURCES SAID THE CUBAN OFFICER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE FORCES SENT TO REBELLION-TORN ANGOLA ARE NOT VOLUNTEERS, AS MOSCOW AND HAVANA HAVE CLAIMED. HE TALKED READILY TO HIS UNITA CAPTORS, U.S. OFFICIALS HAVE LEARNED, AND SAID THE CUBAN TROOP UNITS FELT DECEIVED WHEN THEY ARRIVED IN ANGOLA BELIEVING THEY WERE TO FIGHT "COLONIALISTS" AND FOUND THEMSELVES KILLING OTHER ANGOLANS. (A-7)

ACCORDING TO JEREMIAH O'LEARY, CHAIRMAN OTIS G. PIKE OF THE HOUSE SELECT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE HAS ASSURED COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND OTHER CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS THAT HE WILL NOT SEEK

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A HOUSE VOTE ON THE CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS CITATION AGAINST SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER UNTIL KISSINGER IS BACK IN WASHINGTON. SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BELIEVE AN 11TH HOUR COMPROMISE MAY BE POSSIBLE. IF PIKE DELAYS MOVING FOR A FLOOR VOTE, THE WHOLE ISSUE MIGHT BE REOPENED AT A MEETING OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY. BUT IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER PIKE AND THE COMMITTEE MAJORITY WOULD ACCEPT SOME COMPROMISE ON THE DOCUMENTS THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REFUSED TO GIVE THEM ABOUT COVERT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. (A-12)

IN AN EXCERPT FROM AN ARTICLE FROM THE WINTER ISSUE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TED SZULC ASSERTS THAT U.S. POLICY TOWARDS PORTUGAL DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS BEEN CONFUSED AND UNEVEN. PERSONALLY ORCHESTRATED BY KISSINGER, IT HAS FOLLOWED A TORTUOUS AND CONTRADICTORY PATH TO THE POINT OF BEING, AT TIMES, INCOMPREHENSIBLE EVEN TO SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS. TO SAY NOTHING OF THE PORTUGUESE. WASHINGTON HAS BLOWN HOT AND COLD IN ITS RELATIONS WITH LISBON. ALTHOUGH THE DOMINANT THEME ALL ALONG HAS BEEN A PERVERSIVE AND PROBABLY SELF-DEFEATING FEAR OF A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN PORTUGAL. FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS, THE ADMINISTRATION LIVED THROUGH LARGELY SELF-INDUCED NIGHTMARES OF FALLING DOMINOES AND COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE. IN THE PROCESS, KISSINGER INSTRUCTED THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY TO TRY ITS BEST, THROUGH COVERT OPERATIONS, TO AID THE ANTICOMMUNIST CAUSE ALTHOUGH THE REAL IMPORTANCE OF THE AGENCY'S ROLE IS QUESTIONABLE. HE MYSTERIOUSLY FIRED ONE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN LISBON AND BOGGED DOWN IN LENGTHY DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE HIGHLY QUALIFIED, HAND-PICKED SUCCESSOR. (P-4)

REGARDING PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP TO CHINA, THE EDITORS OF THE STAR NOTE THAT NOTHING HAPPENED IN PEKING OF EARTH SHAKING DIMENSIONS. OUR EXPECTATIONS FROM A LONG SUCCESSION OF SUMMIT MEETINGS HAVE ERODED OVER THE YEARS. TODAY, WE ARE RECEPTIVE TO THE IDEA THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CAN SPEND SEVERAL HOURS TALKING WITH THE VICE-PREMIER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA WITHOUT OUR LIVES BEING BENT OUT OF SHAPE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY, OF COURSE, THAT SUMMIT MEETINGS ARE A WASTE OF A PRESIDENT'S TIME. THE EXPOSURE HE GETS IN THE LOCAL PRESS UNDOUBTLY IMPROVES THE IMAGE OF THE COUNTRY. THE EXPOSURE HE GETS IN THE AMERICAN PRESS, REVIEWING TROOPS, WATCHING ACROATIC SHOWS AND OPERAS, MAKING SMALL-TALK WITH POTENTATES, MAY IMPROVE HIS CHANCES OF RE-ELECTION. IT IS EVEN CONCEIVABLE THAT SOMETHING OF IMPORTANCE HAS SAID THAT HE HAVEN'T YET BEEN TOLD ABOUT. BUT IF SO, WE ARE NOT IN A HURRY TO LEARN WHAT IT IS. (P-2)

CARROLL G. HOYES NOTES THAT IT IS ABSURD TO SAY, AS OFFICIALS OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION ARE SAYING, THAT NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN THE AMERICAN POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION TOWARD THE PALESTINE

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LIBERATION ORGANIZATION. THE FACT IS THAT, IN THE WAKE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE LAST WEEK INVITING THE PLO TO TAKE PART IN A FORTHCOMING DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT POLICY IS DISASTROUSLY ERODED AND SO IS THE AMERICAN SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE ARAB-IBRAELI CONFLICT.
 THE AMERICAN FAILURE TO VETO THE RESOLUTION EXTENDING THE UNITED NATIONS MANDATE TO MAINTAIN AN OBSERVER FORCE ON THE SYRIAN GOLAN HEIGHTS WAS VERY LARGELY A FAILURE OF NERVE.
 THE RESULT HAS BEEN A VICTORY FOR THE MILITANT ARAB STATES AND THE PLO OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS. (F-3)

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. ARGUES THAT SOLZHENITSYN MISSES THE MARK ON KISSINGER'S DETENTE MOTIVES. SOLZHENITSYN BASES HIS ARGUMENTS AGAINST DETENTE ON THE TOTALLY FICTITIOUS ALLEGATION THAT HENRY KISSINGER IS OF THE BREED OF AMERICANS WHO WAKE UP EVERY MORNING WITH THE TASTE OF AN ATOMIC CINDER IN THEIR MOUTHS.
 BUT THAT SIMPLY IS NOT TRUE. THE BOOK THAT FIRST BROUGHT MR. KISSINGER TO PUBLIC ATTENTION WAS CALLED NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOREIGN POLICY, AND IT IS AN ENTIRELY NON-MYSTERICAL BOOK ABOUT THE NUCLEAR AGE.
 WHAT MR. SOLZHENITSYN SEEKS NOT TO HAVE PAID ANY NOTICE TO IS HIS OWN ENDURING CRITIQUE OF THE SPIRITUAL CORRUPTION OF THE WESTERN WORLD, WHO HAS SAID IT MORE PLAINLY THAN HE, THAT THERE ARE DEEPLY ROOTED SUICIDAL COMPULSIONS WORKING IN THE WEST. WHAT KISSINGER SAYS ISN'T "WE MUST HAVE DETENTE BECAUSE THE ALTERNATIVE IS A NUCLEAR WAR."
 WHAT HE SAYS IS, "THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" (BY WHICH HE MEANS THE AMERICAN ESTABLISHMENT) WILL NOT STAND UP AND RESIST, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE IS TO MANEUVER.
 I AGREE WITH SOLZHENITSYN, NOT KISSINGER, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IF ROUSED, WILL DO BETTER THAN THEY HAVE DONE, AND FURTHER MN. KISSINGER'S PROBLEM IS THAT HE WAS NOT HIMSELF BORN TO ROUSE PEOPLE, DISPOSING OF DIFFERENT SKILLS FROM SOLZHENITSYN'S, AND NEVER HAVING WORKED FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHOSE SKILLS WERE THOSE OF CATO, TO BELIEVE KISSINGER IS WRONG ABOUT DETENTE (AS I BELIEVE HE IS) CANNOT JUSTIFY DEPICTING HIM AS SOLZHENITSYN DOES--AS A SUPERFICIAL, COWARDLY DEMAGOGUE, WHO FEASTS ON THE KINDERGARTEN DICHOTOMY OF DETENTE OR NUCLEAR WAR. (F-3)

REPRESENTATIVE LES ASPIN OFFERS HIS IDEAS ON HOW CONGRESS SHOULD ATTEMPT TO OVERSEE THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE IS NOT IN ITSELF THE SOLUTION. CONGRESS CAN AND SHOULD NOT RUN THE EXECUTIVE. A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CAN ACT AS A PROD TO BETTER MANAGEMENT AND A BRAKE ON POORLY THOUGHT-OUT COVERT OPERATIONS. BUT EXECUTIVE DECISIONS MUST BE MADE IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, SO CONGRESS WOULD BE NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON HOW TO REFORM THOSE DEPARTMENTS, NOT

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GET BOGGED DOWN ARGUING WHETHER A PERMANENT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE SHOULD HAVE 10 OR 12 MEMBERS. (F-3)

NEW YORK TIMES

JAMES H. MARKHAM REPORTS FROM BEIRUT THAT A MOOD OF PANIC SEIZED THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY YESTERDAY AS A WAVE OF KIDNAPPINGS AND KILLINGS SPREAD THROUGH TENSE NEIGHBORHOODS, SHATTERING THE QUIET OF MORE THAN A WEEK IN THE LONG MONTHS OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM STRIFE. ACCORDING TO POLICE REPORTS, MORE THAN 200 PEOPLE WERE SEIZED IN DIFFERENT QUARTERS OF THE CITY AND THE BODIES OF AT LEAST 14, BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN MURDERED, WERE ABANDONED IN EMPTY STREETS AND IN ALLEYS. SOME ACCOUNTS PUT THE DEATH TOLL AS HIGH AS 60 FOR THE DAY.

WILLIAM ROBBINS SAYS FEDERAL AGENTS ARE INVESTIGATING SUSPECTED MANIPULATION OF UNITED STATES SHIPPING SUBSIDIES FOR SHIPMENTS OF GRAIN IN THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM, ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT SOURCES. THE SHIPPING INQUIRY, A NEW ELEMENT IN THE CURRENT BROAD FEDERAL INQUIRY INTO CORRUPTION IN THE GRAIN TRADE, HAS RESULTED FROM REPORTS TO THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE OF INVESTIGATION THAT SOME SHIPPING AGENTS, REPRESENTING FOREIGN EMBASSIES, AND SOME SHIPPING BROKERS SYSTEMATICALLY PRESSED QUOTATIONS OF CHARGES FOR SHIPPING GRAIN. (I-1)

JAMES NAUGHTON WRITES THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAS TO HEAD HOMEWARD FROM THE PACIFIC TODAY, HAVING AGREED WITH PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS OF THE PHILLIPPINES TO DISCUSS NEW TERMS FOR THE USE OF IMPORTANT AMERICAN AIR AND NAVAL BASES HERE.

THE PRESIDENT CALLED HIS TRIP A STEP TOWARD CONSTRUCTION OF "A SAFER AND SANER WORLD."

WELL-PLACED OFFICIALS TRAVELING WITH MR. FORD SAID THAT HE AND MR. MARCOS AGREED IN PRIVATE TALKS YESTERDAY AND THIS MORNING TO OPEN FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS SOON ON CHANGES IN THE AGREED GOVERNING THE USE OF CLARK AIR BASE, THE LARGEST AMERICAN MILITARY INSTALLATION OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, AND SUBIC BAY NAVY BASE, THE MOST STRATEGIC NAVAL FACILITY IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. (I-1)

PAUL HOFFMAN REVEALS THAT THE CHIEF AMERICAN DELEGATE AT THE UNITED NATIONS, DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, SAID YESTERDAY THAT HE WAS ASTONISHED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAD ADJOURNED ITS DEBATE ON THE ISRAELI AIR STRIKES IN LEBANON UNTIL MONDAY, RATHER THAN COPING WITH THE ISSUE OVER THE WEEKEND.

MRS. MOYNIHAN TOLD THE SECURITY COUNCIL FRIDAY THAT THE

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UNITED STATES COULD NOT SUPPORT ANY "ONE-SIDED" RESOLUTION THAT CENSURED ONLY ISRAEL FOR TERRORISM. HE DECLINED COMMENT YESTERDAY WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE UNITED STATES HAD DECIDED TO USE ITS VETO POWER IN THE COUNCIL TO BLOCK THE RESOLUTION. (1-14)

A PERSONAL PROFILE WRITTEN BY TOM BUCHLEY ON MR. MOYNIZMAN APPEARS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE.

A SPECIAL TO THE TIMES FROM TOKYO REPORTS THAT THE DIRECTOR OF JAPAN'S DEFENSE AGENCY, MICHITA SAKATA, BELIEVES THAT HIS LEADING TASK IS TO AWAKEN HIS PACIFIST NATION TO A NEED FOR MILITARY SECURITY. MR. SAKATA URGED THE JAPANESE THIS WEEK TO HAVE A STRONG WILL TO RESIST AGGRESSION AND AN UNBENDING SPIRIT TO DEFEND THIS COUNTRY.

"MY JOB," HE ASSERTED "IS TO ACTIVATE SUCH POTENTIAL." IN THE YEAR THAT MR. SAKATA HAS SPENT AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE DEFENSE AGENCY THE NEW SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON SECURITY. (1-28)

DREW MIDDLETON NOTES THAT GEN. WILLIAM C. WESTMORELAND, ASSERTS IN HIS NEW BOOK THAT THE AMERICAN FAILURE TO WIN IN VIETNAM MUST BE ATTRIBUTED TO POLITICIANS AND POLICY MAKERS IN WASHINGTON WHO FORCED US TO FIGHT WITH ONE HAND. "WAR MAY BE TOO SERIOUS A BUSINESS TO LEAVE TO GENERALS, BUT THE GENERAL ARGUES THAT IT IS EQUALY IMPRUDENT TO LEAVE ITS DIRECTION TO POLITICIANS LIKE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, WHO WAS "SO POLITICALLY ORIENTED THAT HE TRIED TO PLEASE EVERYBODY RATHER THAN BITE THE BULLET AND MAKE THE HARD DECISIONS."

THE WAR COULD STILL HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO A FAVORABLE END AFTER NORTH VIETNAME'S TET, OR LUNAR NEW YEAR, OFFENSIVE IN 1968, THE GENERAL ASSERTS, "HAD PRESIDENT JOHNSON PROVIDED REINFORCEMENTS AND HAD HE AUTHORIZED THE OPERATIONS I HAD PLANNED IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA AND NORTH OF THE DMZ, ALONG WITH INTENSIFIED BOMBING AND THE MINING OF HAIPHONG HARBOR." "BUT THAT WAS NOT TO BE," HE RELATED, "PRESS AND TELEVISION HAD CREATED AN AURA NOT OF VICTORY BUT OF DEFEAT, AND TIMID OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON LISTENED MORE TO THE MEDIA THAN TO THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FIELD." (1-23)

A SPECIAL TO THE TIMES FROM TAIWAN DISCLOSES THAT TAIWAN OFFICIALS ARE VOICING CONFIDENCE THAT NO DRAMATIC CHANGES IN AMERICAN-TAIWANESE RELATIONS WILL OCCUR FOR AT LEAST A YEAR, NOW THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAS COMPLETED HIS TRIP TO PEKING WITHOUT ANY MARCH SURPRISES FOR THE GOVERNMENT HERE. THEY BELIEVE MR. FORD WILL BE TOO OCCUPIED WITH SEEKING POLITICAL SUPPORT IN PREPARATION FOR THE ELECTIONS TO UNDERTAKE ANY

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CHANGES IN CHINA POLICY.

BUT THEY LOOK UPON EARLY 1977, AS A CRITICAL PERIOD FOR TAIWAN. RANK FOREIGN-AFFAIRS ANALYSTS HERE BELIEVE THAT THE NEW PRESIDENT, MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO SWITCH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS FROM TAIPEI TO PEKING.

A BANKING OFFICIAL SAID YESTERDAY, "IN THE COMING YEAR WE MUST STEP UP OUR EFFORTS TO IMPRESS ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT THAT WE ARE A GOOD FRIEND AND USEFUL ALLY WHOSE CONTINUED STRENGTH AND STABILITY IS ALSO IN YOUR NATIONAL INTEREST." (1-24)

JAMES H. MARKHAM ANALYZES THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYRIA AND THE PLO AND NOTES THAT FOR SYRIA, WITH FEW CARDS TO PLAY IN THE GAME OF MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY, HAS, IN THE ESTIMATION OF WESTERN DIPLOMATS, PLAYED THEM SKILLFULLY, AND SYRIA'S TRUMP CARD HAS BEEN THE PALESTINIANS, WHOSE CAUSE IN THE PAST HAS BEEN MANIPULATED AND EXPLOITED BY ANY NUMBER OF ARAB REGIMES. AFTER THIS SUMMER'S SINAI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN CAIRO AND JERUSALEM, MR. ASSAD DID WHAT SOME WESTERN DIPLOMATS IN DAMASCUS CONSIDER A CONSUMMATELY CLEVER THING. HE WRAPPED SYRIA'S DEMANDS IN THOSE OF MR. ARAFAT'S PALESTINIANS, DEMANDING SIMULTANEOUS PROGRESS ON GOLAN, THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN RIVER AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. THAT HEADED OFF GRUMBLING FROM SYRIAN BAATHIST AND ARMY HAWKS AND BLUNTED CRITICISM FROM IRAQ THAT HE WAS SELLING THE ARAB CAUSE DOWN THE EUPHRATES.

THE FIRST DIVIDEND OF THE SYRIAN POLICY CAME IN THE DECISION TO INCLUDE THE PALESTINIANS IN THE SCHEDULED JANUARY DEBATE AND IT GIVES SOME INKLING OF THE DIRECTION THAT MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY, SEEMingly STUCK IN A RUT AFTER SINAI, MAY BE HEADING. MR. ASSAD, WHO KEEPS A FAIRLY TIGHT REIN ON PALESTINIAN GROUPS BASED IN SYRIA, MAY NOW BEGIN TO NUDDGE MR. ARAFAT TO GET HIS SOMETIMES UNWIELDY MOVEMENT INTO SHAPE FOR NEGOTIATIONS THAT SEEM TO BE APPROACHING. BUT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION MAY NOT NEED MUCH NUDDING; ITS EMERGING INTER-NATIONAL IDENTITY IS GIVING IT A CONFIDENCE THAT IT DID NOT HAVE PREVIOUSLY.

ALTHOUGH THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION OVER WHICH FORUM SHOULD BE THE LOCALE OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, IT SEEKS INCREASINGLY LIKELY THAT THE TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE. THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS CONTINUE TO DIFFER ON WHAT SHOULD BE TALKED ABOUT, OR EVEN IF THERE SHOULD BE A CONFERENCE, BUT AS ALWAYS, THE COUNTRY THE ARABS WILL BE WATCHING FOR CLUES TO DEVELOPMENTS IS THE UNITED STATES. (4-1)

IN ITS LEAD EDITORIAL THE TIMES COMMENTS ON THE CHANCES FOR PEACE IN THE MIDEAST AND SAYS IF THE CENTRAL GOAL OF UNITED STATES POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WERE ONLY TO EXPAND AMERICAN INFLUENCE AND EXCLUDE THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION, THEN THE UNITED STATES WOULD

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HAVE SUFFERED A SEVERE SETBACK WITH THE RECENT SHIFT OF DIPLOMATIC ENTHUSIASM TO THE ISSUE OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS. THE DRIVE FOR GREAT-POWER ADVANTAGE CANNOT, HOWEVER, BE THE PRINCIPAL AIM OF AMERICAN POLICY IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE, AND, IN FACT, IT HAS SPECIFICALLY BEEN DISAVOWED IN REPEATED AMERICAN STATEMENTS OVER YEARS PAST. THE REAL GOAL IS PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS. TOWARD THAT END, THE EMERGENCE OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AT THE TOP OF THE DIPLOMATIC AGENDA IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP FORWARD.

AS BITTER ISRAELI DIPLOMAT'S EMPHASITICALLY POINT OUT, THE UNITED STATES LOST THE INITIATIVE OVER THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS THE MINUTE THE ISSUE WENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ONE OF THE GREAT UNSTATED ADVANTAGES OF SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY OF THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS BEEN THAT THIS COUNTRY COULD CONTROL THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FORESTALL THE KIND OF PUBLIC PRESSURE TACTICS NOW BEING EMPLOYED WITH SUCH VENOM.

BUT THE SHUTTLE "STEP-BY-STEP" APPROACH REACHED THE END OF THE LINE WITH LAST SEPTEMBER'S SINAI AGREEMENT AS EVEN SECRETARY KISSINGER NOW CONCEDES.

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF P.L.O. PARTICIPATION AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE FACT THE PALESTINIAN INTERESTS ARE NO LONGER TO BE SHUNTED TO THE SIDELINES OF THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS, AS THEY HAVE BEEN FOR THREE DECADES PAST.

ONCE A NEGOTIATING PROCESS ACTUALLY BEGINS, EXTREME POSITIONS ON BOTH SIDES ARE WHITTLED DOWN IN NORMAL GIVE-AND-TAKE OF DIPLOMACY.

THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IN THE COMING WEEKS WILL BE AN ATTEMPT TO START THE DELICATE PROCESS OF CONTACT AND EXCHANGE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES, EITHER AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OR BY ANY OTHER DIPLOMATIC DEVICE THAT CAN BE WORKED OUT. BOTH SIDES FEAR THAT THE FIRST STEP WOULD MEAN A SELL-OUT OF THEIR BASIC INTERESTS.

THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE: UNTIL THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE TAKEN, HOPE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL REMAIN ILLUSORY. (A6)4)

THE TIMES REFLECTS ON CIA ACTIVITIES IN CHILE AND CONCLUDES THAT THE STAFF REPORT OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE HAS NOW PLACED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN CHILE IN RECENT YEARS IN SOME PERSPECTIVE. THE CENTRAL FACT THAT EMERGES IS THAT ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES DID INEXORABLY INTERFERE IN THE CHILEAN POLITICAL PROCESS, THE UNITED STATES STILL WAS NOT BASICALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT SALVADOR ALLENDE. DESPITE THE LEFT-WING MYTH THAT THIS COUNTRY WAS THE PRIME MOVER IN THAT EVENT, THE COUP WAS ACTUALLY CONCEIVED AND CARRIED OUT BY CHILEANS, DRIVING FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN.

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U N C L A S S I F I E D D e c l a s s e d C O P Y

THE \$7 MILLION THAT THE C.I.A. SPENT IN CHILE FROM 1970 TO 1973 IS A DERISORY SUM WHEN MEASURED AGAINST THE LARGE EFFECTS AScribed TO THE AGENCY BY ITS CRITICS.

THE UNITED STATES HAD NO WARRANT WHATSOEVER TO MEDDLE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHILE. SUCH ATTEMPTS TO PLAY THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL POLICEMAN ARE USUALLY SELF-DEFEATING AND UNDERMINE THE IDEALS OF WHICH THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE AN EXEMPLAR. BUT NEITHER IS ANY GOOD PURPOSE SERVED BY EXAGGERATING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE C.I.A.'S BUMBLING INTERVENTIONS AND AScriBING TO IT THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BLOODSHED, TERROR, AND LOSS OF FREEDOM THAT THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES HAVE SINCE IMPOSED ON THEIR OWN PEOPLE. (4-14)

THE BALTIMORE SUN

HENRY TREWHITT WRITES THAT IT IS INHERENT IN JOURNALISM, GOVERNMENT, AND POLITICS, WITH EXCEPTIONS OF COURSE, THAT WE ARE PRISONERS OF THE MOMENT. ONE PREOCCUPATION OF THE MOMENT IS SPECULATION ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS IF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION FAIL, AS SEEKS POSSIBLE, TO REACH A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION (SALT) AGREEMENT IN 1976, A POLITICAL YEAR FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

THERE IS MUCH TALK OF IRREVERSIBLE MOMENTUM, OF POINTS OF NO RETURN, BUT THERE IS ANOTHER ARGUMENT, HARDLY DARING YET TO MAKE ITSELF HEARD, THAT 1976 IS A GOOD PERIOD IN WHICH TO FORGET THE WHOLE THING.

THE ARGUMENTS ARE COMPLICATED, AND THEY COME FROM DISPARATE SOURCES; AT HEART, HOWEVER, THEY TURN ON A COMMON THEME: THE PROBABLE FLAWS OF ANY AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED UNDER THE ENORMOUS POLITICAL PRESSURES OF 1976.

FOR ITS PART, WITH A COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS AND ITS OWN LEADERSHIP CHANGE PENDING, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL BE APPRAISING THE POLITICAL VULNERABILITY OF MR. FORD. IT MUST BE AWARE OF CURRENT POLITICAL IMAGERY: THAT THE US HAS COMPLAINED MUCH, BUT DOES LITTLE, TO BLOCK ITS EXPANSIONISM IN --FOR EXAMPLE--AFRICA; THAT MOSCOW HAS NOT BEEN CALLED TO ACCOUNT FOR IGNORING ITS COMMITMENTS UNDER THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

TO SOME EXTENT MR. KISSINGER AS ARCHITECT AND EXECUTOR OF FOREIGN POLICY IS IN A NO-WIN SITUATION. HOWEVER, HE MOVES HE WILL BE ATTACKED FROM RIGHT OR LEFT. FOR THAT VERY REASON, THE CRITICAL CURRENT QUESTIONS OF SALT ARE POLITICAL. IN MILITARY TERMS, SALT CAN WAIT. (4-2)

THE LEAD EDITORIAL ASKS IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO BE TRANSFORMED INTO A FORUM AS FRUITLESS AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY? A CHAIN-REACTION OF EVENTS GROWING OUT OF ISRAELIM AND HOSTILITY THREATENS SUCH A RESULT - A RESULT THAT COULD UNDERMINE THE ONE INTERNATIONAL BODY WITH SOME REAL PEACE.

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KEEPING ACHIEVEMENTS ON ITS RECORD, WHAT MAKES THE SITUATION ESPECIALLY IRONIC IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS BEING DAMAGED BY THE VERY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES THAT HAVE MOST TO GAIN BY KEEPING IT USEFUL. THESE SO CALLED "NON-ALIGNED" COUNTRIES REPEATEDLY ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH BLOCKS - THE SOVIET BLOC AND THE ARAB BLOC - IN A MANNER THAT CANNOT SERVE THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

SOONER RATHER THAN LATER THE UN MEMBERSHIP MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT IS SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BECOME A USELESS HOKEY-COKEY IF IT PERSISTS IN THE KIND OF SELF-DESTRUCTIVE ACTS THAT HAVE CONVERTED THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY INTO A CAVE OF WINDS. (K=4)

ANOTHER EDITORIAL STATED THAT IT WAS THE WHITE HOUSE, NOT A "ROGUE ELEPHANT" CIA, THAT INTERVENED HEAVY-HANDEDLY IN CHILE FOR THE DECADE OF THE JOHNSON AND NIXON ADMINISTRATIONS COVERED BY THE STAFF REPORT OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

THE REPORT SAYS THAT THE CHILEAN INTERVENTION WAS NOT UNIQUE, THE SUSPICION GROWS THAT THE CIA HAS TOO GREAT A CAPACITY FOR INTERVENTION FOR THIS COUNTRY'S OWN INTERESTS, WHICH HAS BEEN OVERUSED BY ADMINISTRATIONS INGOREING THE RISK AND THE COST. THE ACTUAL GATHERING OF INTELLIGENCE, FOR WHICH MOST AMERICANS THOUGHT THE CIA WAS CREATED, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN GOOD. THE PITY WAS THAT IT WAS IGNORED. (K=4)

JOSEPH KRAFT WRITES THAT THE THREE CORNERED STRUCTURE THAT HAS DOMINATED WORLD POLITICS SINCE PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT IN 1972 STILL EXISTS. WASHINGTON CAN CONTINUE TO PLAY PEKING OFF AGAINST MOSCOW, THAT MUCH, AT LEAST, IS ATTESTED BY THE TALKS WHICH PRESIDENT FORD HAS JUST COMPLETED WITH THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN PEKING. BUT PARTLY BECAUSE OF CHINESE WEAKNESS AND DIVISION, AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF AMERICAN SELF-DOUBT, THE VITALITY HAS GONE OUT OF THE THREE-CORNERED GAME. IT IS A SERIOUS QUESTION HOW MUCH LEVERAGE, IN ANY, SINODAMERICAN COOPERATION CAN EXERT ON THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS HARD TO FEEL CONFIDENT, IN THIS SITUATION, ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA ON Arms CONTROL AND OTHER MATTERS. ONE HAS THE FEELING THAT FERNAND PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY HISSINGER WOULD DO WELL TO TAKE MORE TO HEART THE CHINESE WARNING THAT STORMY TIMES LIE AHEAD. (K=8)

CHARLES H. GORDON REPORTS THAT BOTH THE AIR FORCE AND THE NAVY NOW ARE SCHEDULED TO BEGIN FLIGHT TESTS EARLY NEXT YEAR WITH THE CONTROVERSIAL CRUISE MISSILES THAT HAVE BECOME A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO REACHING A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE TESTS LONG HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED UNDER CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN BOTH SERVICES, BUT THEY COULD BECOME

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POLITICALLY AWKWARD IF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IS AS WIDELY REPORTED, BENT ON MAKING ONE MORE ATTEMPT THIS YEAR TO GET THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS OFF DEAD CENTER. (A=8)

ERNIN D. CANHAM WRITES ON THE BOUNDARIES OF DECENCY IN THE MODERN WORLD. WHERE DO YOU DRAW THE LINE? WHERE, IN COLD WARFARE, DO YOU DECIDE THERE ARE THINGS THAT SIMPLY MUST NOT BE ATTEMPTED? HOW AND WHERE, THEN, DO YOU DRAW THE LINE? ONE POINT WOULD BE TO FORBID INTERFERENCE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER NATION OR SOCIETY AS A DELIBERATE ACT. OF COURSE MANY DECISIONS BY ONE COUNTRY AFFECT ANOTHER, SUCH AS TARIFFS OR EXCHANGE RATES OR REFUSAL TO SELL FOOD. BUT THESE DECISIONS ARE DIFFERENT IN MORAL AND POLITICAL TERMS FROM DELIBERATE PLOTS AND ACTIONS WHICH INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE ACTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION ALL ARE ILLEGAL. PERHAPS ANOTHER PLACE TO DRAW THE LINE, AND THIS APPLIED INTERNALLY AS WELL AS EXTERNALLY, IS WHERE ANY LAW IS BROKEN. NATIONS AND THEIR EXECUTIVES ARE SHORN TO KEEP THE LAW AND ENFORCE IT. RESPECT FOR THE LAWS OF EVERY NATION, INCLUDING THOSE LAWS WITH WHICH WE DISAGREE AND WHICH WE FIND REPRESSIVE, IS NEVERTHELESS PART OF THE LAW OF NATIONS. IT OUGHT TO BE IMPOSED UPON EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. SO NOW THE TIME HAS COME, ON THE HEELS OF DISGRACING REVELATIONS, TO COMPLETE THE AWAKENING OF THOUGHT TO THE BOUNDARIES OF DECENCY IN THE MODERN WORLD. THE SOONER THESE BOUNDARIES ARE RE-ESTABLISHED THE BETTER. (K=8)

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